An Examination of Urban Public Transportation Equity in San Antonio, Texas

by

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An Examination of Urban Public Transportation Equity in San Antonio, Texas

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Supervising Committee:

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Dedication

To my mother, Margaret Shepherd, who taught me the joys and pains of riding public transit.

Acknowledgements

I extend my gratitude to my advisor, Talia McCray, for her guidance, support, and patience. I would also like to thank Michael Oden for his valuable comments and suggestions. It has been an honor to work with both of them. Lastly, I'd like to give a heartfelt "thank you" to my husband, Tom, for keeping me on task and reminding me that "all of us get lost in the darkness, but dreamers learn to steer by the stars."

August 12, 2009

Abstract

An Examination of Urban Public Transportation Equity in San Antonio, Texas

Tricia Ann Barrow, M.S.C.R.P.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

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The aim of this report is to demonstrate the ways in which inadequate transportation systems and policies create constraints and inequalities in San Antonio. It discusses the important role that equity plays in transportation planning. In addition, it explores various policy and planning reforms that might help achieve equity objectives.

The concern for transportation equity is rooted in the desire for just distribution of resources and growing awareness of environmental justice concerns. This report will explore some of the ways that San Antonio's transportation systems and policies can be improved to enhance the

quality of life and create opportunities for all residents, specifically for the disadvantaged.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Though we are decades removed from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s, transportation equity remains a prevailing civil rights issue. As a nation, we have made paramount social gains at all levels of government – through legislation and the judicial system - to deal with this matter. Nevertheless, urban transportation systems and policies in many U.S. cities continue to pose constraints on disadvantaged low-income minority communities.

The concept of transportation equity seeks to ensure that the needs of all communities - particularly low-income and minority communities - are addressed in transportation policies and the transportation planning process. Additionally, transportation investments should work to ensure that both the costs and benefits of transportation are distributed equally. Simply put, transportation equity is about taking the necessary steps to develop a transportation system that provides all people – regardless of race, class, gender, age, or ability – with the ability to access good jobs, education, health care, places of worship, stores, and other needed services, whether or not they have a car.

The transportation needs of San Antonio have seemingly failed to keep pace with the rapid growth occurring throughout the metropolitan area. Current transportation policies, suburbanization, decentralization of businesses, and inefficient public transit systems have promoted the use of private vehicle ownership. In addition to these factors, the mobility constraints faced by lower income minority communities (i.e. lack of

transportation alternatives, fewer trips, and shorter distances traveled) have contributed to transportation inequities.

The unconstrained increase in urbanization combined with exclusionary planning and the disproportionate investment in transportation infrastructure has created a socio-economic imbalance. The primary aim of this report is to demonstrate the ways in which inadequate transportation systems and policies create and foster mobility constraints and inequities for San Antonio's low income minority households. In addition, the report will identify and explore the specific constraints that are posing a disproportionate impact on those households.

San Antonio was chosen as the focal point for this report because of household characteristics (e.g. poverty level and vehicle ownership). The metropolitan region of the city is relatively poor compared to the nation as a whole; 14.7 percent of San Antonio families are living below the poverty level, compared to the national rate of 9.8%.[1] Slightly more than 11 percent of San Antonio's households do not have access to a working vehicle, making these households more dependent on other modes of transportation.[2]

In addition, demographic characteristics (e.g. population size, growth rate, ethnic composition) were used in the selection of San Antonio for this case study. According to 2006 Census estimates, the central city of San Antonio ranked as the eighth-largest city in the United States with a population of 1.3 million and an average growth rate of 2.5% per

[1] United States Census Bureau. "San Antonio Fact Sheet, 2005-2007 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates." http://www.factfinder.census.gov/.../SAFFacts...San+Antonio
[2] Ibid.

year. Sixty-one percent of the population identify themselves as being of Hispanic origin (See Appendix 1). The large minority population is mostly comprised of inner-city, low income households that undoubtedly suffer from lack of reliable transportation options due to financial constraints.

San Antonio has also become synonymous with random, unplanned growth, with most of the growth in the metropolitan area is taking place in the northern quadrant. The lack of unmanaged growth has had a profound effect on economic and racial polarization in the city. The pattern of urban sprawl has influenced a disproportionate number of transportation projects that favor private vehicle ownership and northwardly growth.

According to the Texas Department of Transportation's 2005 Annual Average Daily Traffic data for San Antonio, nineteen of the twenty top growth locations are located in the north, along FM 1604 and US Highway 281. In addition, the prevailing land use and development patterns hinder the efficient operation of public transit, which – due to funding shortages – cannot keep pace with the growth.

Through an examination of local transportation planning objectives, policies (local, state, and federal) and demographic trends, this report will evaluate how unmet demand for public transportation results in transportation inequities. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of transportation equity, explaining the importance thereof and briefly examining its history. Chapter 3 will identify the most disadvantage populations and examine the issue transportation equity issues and the economic and social impacts of poor policies and planning, specifically focused on San Antonio. Chapter 4 will address policies and strategies that have been implemented in order to address inequities

in transportation. The report will conclude with recommendations for improving local strategies and policies to address and ensure equity in transportation policies, planning, and services.

Chapter 2: Public Transportation and Equity

From a planning perspective, equity is most commonly defined as the equal distribution of resources and opportunities.[3] Moreover, it is the degree to which the impacts of those resources and opportunities are considered fair. Equity is a vital component of transportation planning because its essence is in maintaining a balance between costs and benefits so that no particular group is burdened.[4]

2-1. The Importance of Equity in Transportation Planning

Without consideration for equity, transportation policies have the ability to deny some individuals access to education, jobs, and services. Moreover, policies are capable of undermining the economy and social cohesion of communities. Current transportation policies have created inequity by nurturing the federal highway system while letting public transportation wither away.

Conventional thinking was that transportation equity issues were thought to affect only the poor. However, these issues have been recognized as affecting a much broader range of the demographic, including low-income minority groups, seniors and the elderly, children, and the physically disabled. For many segments of the population, public transportation is not an option, but a necessity. It is a vital means for accessing job sites,

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[3] Bullard, Robert D., Glenn S. Johnson, and Angel O. Torres (eds.) Sprawl City: Race, Politics, and Planning in Atlanta. Washington, DC: Island Press, 2000; Elizabeth Deakin. Sustainable Development and Sustainable Transportation: Strategies for Economic Prosperity, Environmental Quality, and Equity. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley, Institute of urban and Regional Development, 2001.

[4] Deakin, p.7

taking their children to child care, or making trips to visit family members. Transit barriers such as cost and inadequate service pose many burdens on those who rely on public transportation. The costs of transportation can be a heavy financial burden. In 2005, households below the poverty level were spending more than ¼ of their income on transportation (Figure 2-1).

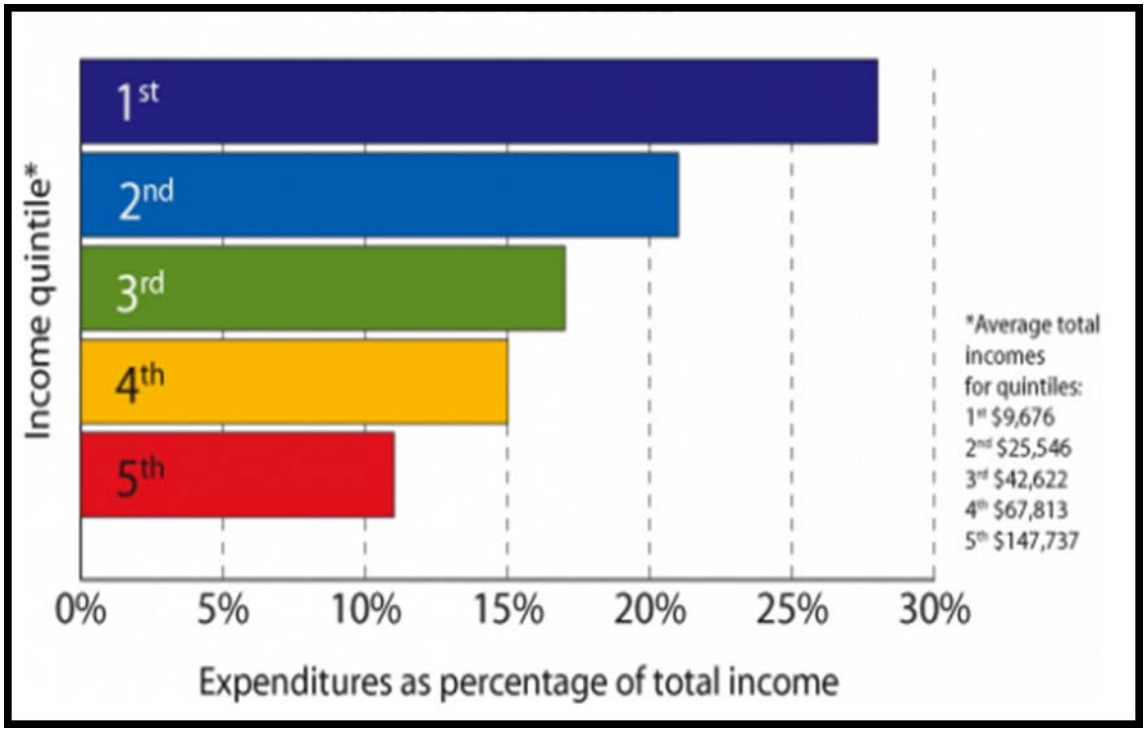

Figure 2-1. Transportation Expenditures by Income Quintile 2005
(Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)

Transportation decisions have many important equity impacts: they affect people's health and opportunity in life (e.g. access to public services, education, health care, and employment opportunities. Transport determines where people can live, shop,

work, attend school, and recreate. Sufficient mobility is vital for people to participate fully in society as citizens, employees, consumers, and members of a community.

2-2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF EQUITY IN PLANNING

Throughout the 1950s and 60s – from Rosa Parks' arrest in Montgomery to the Freedom Rides through the South – transportation has been a theme of civil rights. In 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. recognized that transportation was an issue that lied at the convergence of civil rights, economics, and the environment:

> *If transportation systems in American cities could be laid out so as to provide an opportunity for poor people to get meaningful employment, then they could begin to move into the mainstream of American life.*[5]

Four years earlier, under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Federal government declared that "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."[6] Nevertheless, transportation equity remains one of the more prevalent civil rights issue in our nation.

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[5] James Washington. A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr., 1991, pp. 325-6

[6] Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000d et seq.

Inequitable transportation systems exacerbate issues of access to urban centers and equality of opportunities such as creating long commute times for low wages.[7] The transportation policies in the United States during the last several decades have contributed to the decline of inner cities and reduced the quality of life for inner-city residents.[8] Transportation policies seemingly undermine the basic rights of one-third of all Americans who are too young, too old, too destitute, or too infirm to drive by favoring projects that increase the mobility of suburban automobile owners.

2-3. NATIONAL VIEW OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

Public transportation plays a significant role in Americans' mobility. Currently, there are more than 6,400 providers of public and community transportation providing Americans with the choice to travel by means other than an automobile.[9] Nationwide, 556 local transportation agencies provide service in 319 urbanized areas.[10]

Public transportation is also critical to our nation's economy. It is estimated that every $10 million of public transportation capital investment yields $30 million in increased business sales while every $10 million in operation investments yields an

[7] Bullard. "Address Urban Transportation Equity in the United States," Fordham Urban Law Journal, Vol. 31, Issue 5 (October 2004), p. 1184.
[8] Cochran, Stephen. "Transportation, Social Equity, and City-Suburban Connections." Planning and Community Equity: A Component of APA's Agenda for America's Communities Program. American Planning Association. Chicago; Washington, DC.: Planners Press, APA 1994, p.11
[9] American Public Transportation Association. "Public Transportation: Benefits for the 21st Century", 2007, p. 2. http://www.apta.com/reasearch/info/online/documents/twenty_first_century.cfm
[10] Ibid.

additional $32 million in business sales.[11] Public transportation is a $48 billion industry that employs 380,000 people.[12]

From 1995 through 2008, public transportation ridership increased by 38%, higher than the 21% growth in the use of the country's interstate highway system over the same period.[13] In 2008, Americans took a total of 10.7 billion trips on public transportation, which computes to roughly 35 million trips every day.[14] These numbers are evidence that public transportation is not only critical to our nation's transportation system, it is essential to the economic and social well-being of our citizens.

Recent ridership figures provide an observer with a good understanding of who uses public transportation. Twenty percent of transit riders would not be able to make their commutes without transit. In addition, nearly 70% of riders do not have reliable access to vehicles. One-third of riders have household incomes below $15,000. Nearly 94% of public assistance recipients rely on public transportation. While public transportation provides an affordable alternative to driving for some, for others it is a necessity.

Federal transportation policy should encourage the development and expansion of public transportation. Policies should include clear and unambiguous endorsements of a shift away from private automobiles. The figures show that there is a clear demand for public transportation and a compelling need for increased investment at all levels of government.

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[11] American Public Transportation Association. "Public Transportation and the Nation's Economy: A Quantitative Analysis of Public Transportation's Economic Impact." October 1999.
[12] Ibid
[13] American Public Transportation Association. "Transit News". March 2009. http://apta.com/media/releases/documents/090309_ridership.pdf
[14] American Public Transportation Association. "Public Transportation and the Nation's Economy."

2-4. TRANSPORTATION, EQUITY, AND LEGISLATION

> *For too long, federal policy has actually encouraged sprawl and congestion and pollution, rather than quality public transportation and smart, sustainable development. And we've been keeping communities isolated when we should have been bringing them together.*[15]
>
> *Barack Obama*

Opportunity and equity are key components of transportation spending and legislation.[16] The enactment of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Equity Act (ISTEA) in 1991 called for a greater emphasis on coordinated regional planning in effort to increase mobility for Americans. The bill took into account a range of community, public transportation, and environmental interests. It allotted $155 billion (over six years) to be used for mass transit, roads, and other projects to effort to increase mobility.[17]

Title I of ISTEA provided that specific funds authorized through Federal-Aid Highways programs may be used for either public transportation or highway projects. These funds were deemed "flexible" and were allocated toward transportation projects best suited to meeting the needs of individual areas and states.[18] The bill also advanced the role of metropolitan planning organizations by giving them more discretion over projects. In doing so, MPOs must consider a wide range of social, economic, and environmental goals.

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[15] Presidential remarks given at the Urban and Metropolitan Policy Roundtable July 13, 2009
[16] Bullard, p. 1187
[17] United States Bureau of Transportation Statistics. "Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991- Summary." http://ntl.bts.gov/DO CS/ste.html
[18] Ibid.

Building on the framework of ISTEA, the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21) was enacted as public law on June 9, 1998. Title III of TEA-21 extended the public transportation program of ISTEA by increasing public transportation funding authorizations. One of the programs that was created and funded under Title III is the Job Access and Reverse Commute program.[19] The Federal Transit Administration was tasked with selecting projects for JARC funding, which guaranteed $700 million in funding over a 6-year period. The purpose of JARC is to address the unique transportation challenges faced by welfare recipients and low-income persons who have difficulty accessing entry-level suburban jobs from their inner-city or rural homes.

The follow-up to TEA-21 turned out to be a landmark bill. On August 10, 2005, the federal surface transportation act – the Safe, Accountable, Flexible, Efficient Transportation Act– was signed into law by President George W. Bush. SAFETEA-Lu authorized $286 billion in federal spending on transportation projects over a six-year period and included several provisions driven primarily by low-income grassroots constituencies.[20]

SAFETEA-LU also places more stringent requirements on states and regional transportation planning organizations to involve stakeholders, including users of public transportation, in the planning process. In addition, the act set aside additional resources to study and assess the impact of transportation funding and planning decisions on low-income and transit-dependent populations.

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[19] United States Department of Transportation Federal Transit Administration. "Job Access and Reverse Commute Program". http://www.fta.dot.gov/funding/grants/grant_financing_3550.html

[20] United States Federal Highway Administration Department of Transportation. "SAFETEA-LU Legislation." http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/safetealu/legis/htm

In June 2009, the House Transportation & Infrastructure Committee introduced the Surface Transportation Authorization Act of 2009 – "A Blueprint for Investment and Reform". The legislation is a six-year $450 billion bill that will replace SAFETEA-LU, which is due to expire on September 30, 2009. The purpose of the legislation is to address mobility and accessibility needs, improve the condition of connectivity of transportation systems, provide better transportation choices, and promote environmental sustainability, public health, and livability.[21]

The "Blueprint" focuses the majority of transit funding in four categories, one of which is to provide mobility and access to transit-dependent individuals. This new legislation is an opportunity to transform the way that the United States makes transportation investments and put disadvantaged communities on track to prosperity.

Transportation equity is an important issue to be addressed as it is mostly neglected by transportation planners and researchers. However, its importance is being recognized and according to the prediction of executive committee members of the Transportation Research Board "equity will be one of the major themes in transportation policy for the coming decade."[22]

The current system of transportation funding is failing low income communities. In general, most states spend less than one-fifth of federal transportation dollars on public

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[21] United States House of Representative Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. "The Surface Transportation Authorization Act of 2009." http://transportation.house.gov/Media/file/Highways/HPP/Surface%20Transportation%20Blueprint%20Executive%20Summary.pdf

[22] Thomas W. Sanchez et al., Civil Rights Project and Center for Community Change, *Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities*, 2003, p. 11. Available at http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/transportation/trans_paper03.php

transit.[23] A disproportionate amount of federal funds are spent on projects that do not serve the needs of those communities that need affordable mobility options.

One of the major areas that transportation policies affect is employment opportunities. Unfortunately, commuting to employment sites is more often easier said than done, particularly for those who lack access to fast, reliable transportation. In most major cities, automobiles remain the fastest and most reliable mode of transportation. However, minorities and lower-income individuals have significantly lower rates of car ownership.

In addition, the decentralization of jobs, in particular entry-level and low-skill, low-paying jobs, from the central city to the edges of the city has resulted in a spatial mismatch between residential and employment locations. The growth of jobs in suburban locations that are difficult and often impossible to reach by conventional public transit service has created a genuine problem for low-income households that lack access to working automobiles.

The issue of environmental justice can also be raised when transportation planning decisions and policies pose a negative impact on a disadvantaged community (or favor one segment of the population over another). The network of transportation systems in our country should provide every person with the ability to participate fully in society. However, the transportation needs of low-income minority commuters are often

[23] Thomas W. Sanchez et al , p. 11

vastly different from those of higher-income persons. These differences raise important questions about the responsiveness of current transportation programs and policies.[24]

Transportation equity issues can also be inextricably linked to affordable housing. Low income and minority populations are often limited in their choice of housing location when they are transit-dependent. Moreover, since the nation's poorest families are spending more than 40% of their net pay on transportation, they are left with less money to spend on quality housing.[25] Thus, their dependency on public transportation translates into a requirement for affordable housing, often in less desirable neighborhoods.

[24] Sanchez, Thomas W. and James F. Wolf. Environmental Justice and Transportation Equity: A Review of Metropolitan Planning Organizations. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2005. Retrieved from http://www.mi.vt.edu/uploads/SanchezWolf.pdf

[25] Bullard, p. 1189

Chapter 3: Study Area: Transportation Equity in San Antonio

San Antonio is a car-dependent city of highways; The city is home to one of the largest systems of state highways in the nation. The city's land use - along with its network of streets and highways - acts as an encouraging force for auto dependency. According to the 2000 US Census, nearly 90% of all workers in the city commute to work by private vehicle (alone or in a carpool) while less than 4% use public transit and the remaining few walk or bike (Figure 3-1).

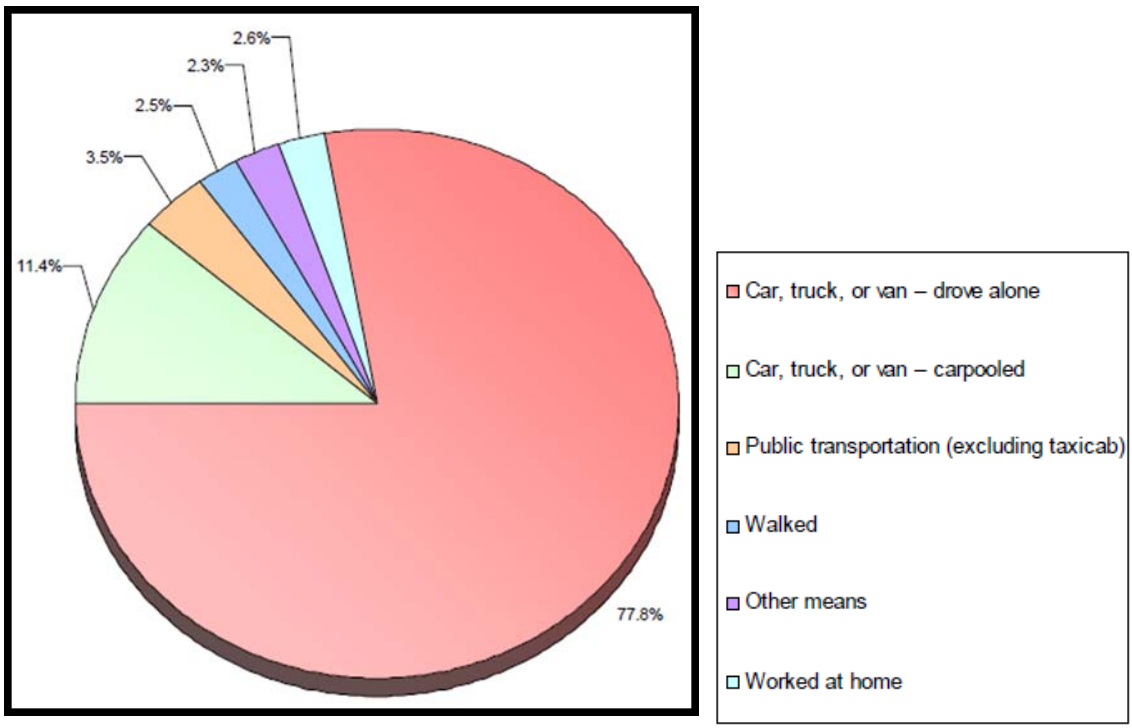

Figure 3-1 Modes of Commuting to Work in San Antonio
(Source: City of San Antonio Planning and Development Services, 2009)

In addition, there are 1.58 vehicles per household, which is slightly less than the national average of 1.62 vehicles. However, within the inner city (especially the area just west of the central business district), less than half of all workers commute by private vehicle and vehicle ownership drops to less than one automobile per household.

The 2007 U.S. Census estimates the median household income in San Antonio to be $42,217, lower than the national median of $50,007. The per capita income of $17,487 is also lower than the national per capita income of $26,178. When compared to other metropolitan areas across the United States, San Antonio can be considered to have a medium-high rate of poverty among its population, accounting for a rate of 15.1 percent.

Because of the high levels of poverty and the low per capita income, San Antonio residents are often overburdened by transportation costs. In the metro area, household transportation costs range from $376 $1000 per month (Figure 3-2).[26] Inner-city households tend to bear lower transportation costs than suburban households because of their proximity to opportunities in and around the city center, a function of higher density. However, as a percent of the area median income, inner city households tend to be overburdened by transportation costs. Figure 3-3 shows that the majority of inner-city San Antonio households are spending between 20 and 28 percent of their income on transportation costs. Transportation expenditures are lowest in the central business districts and higher in the outlying suburbs.

[26] The Center for Neighborhood Technology. '*Housing + Transportation Affordability in the San Antonio Metropolitan Region* 2008", p. 14. http://www.cnt.org/repository/SanAntonio.H+T.Final.pdf

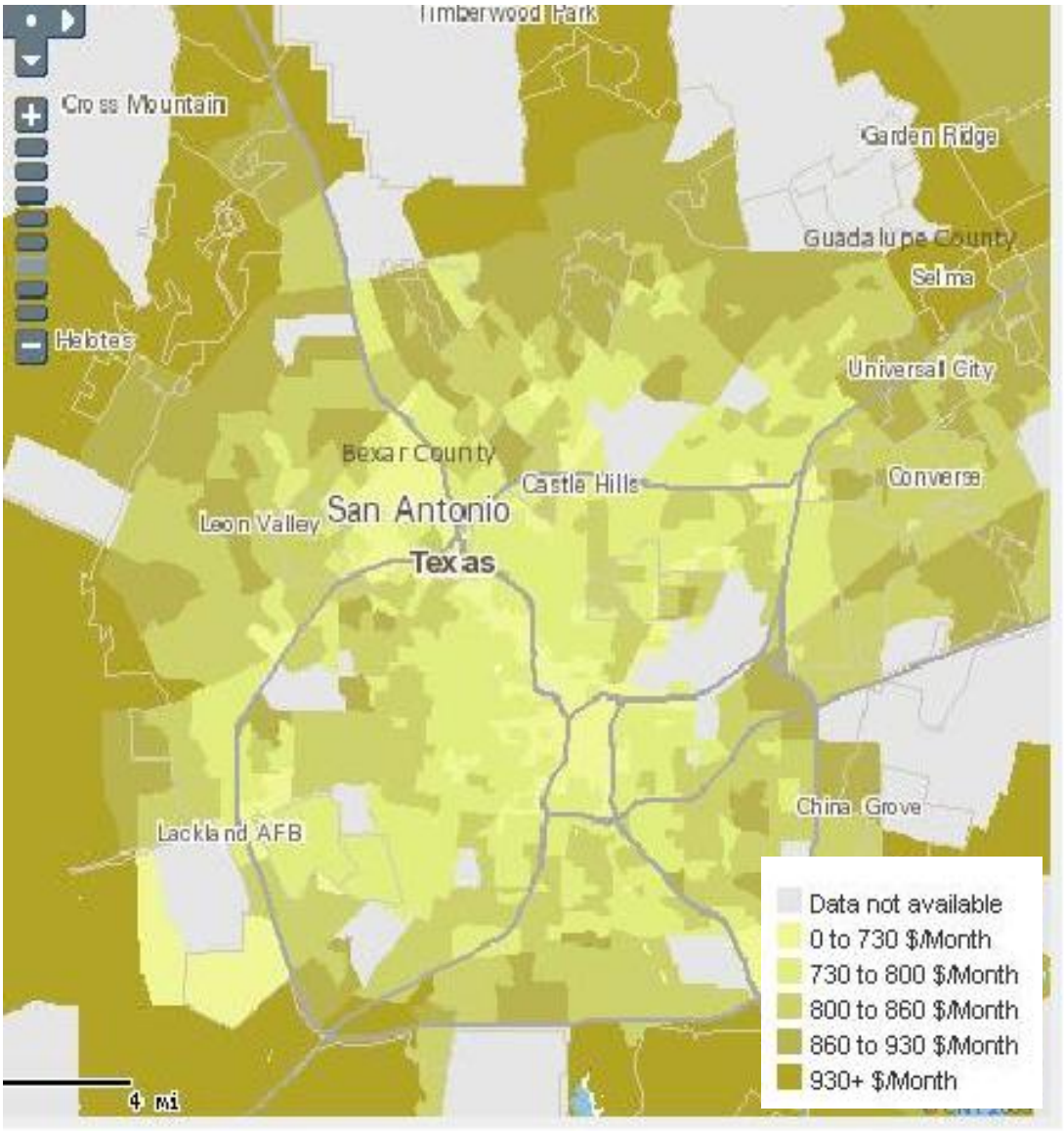

Figure 3-2 San Antonio Household Monthly Transportation Costs
Source: H + T Affordability Index, Center for Neighborhood Technology 2009

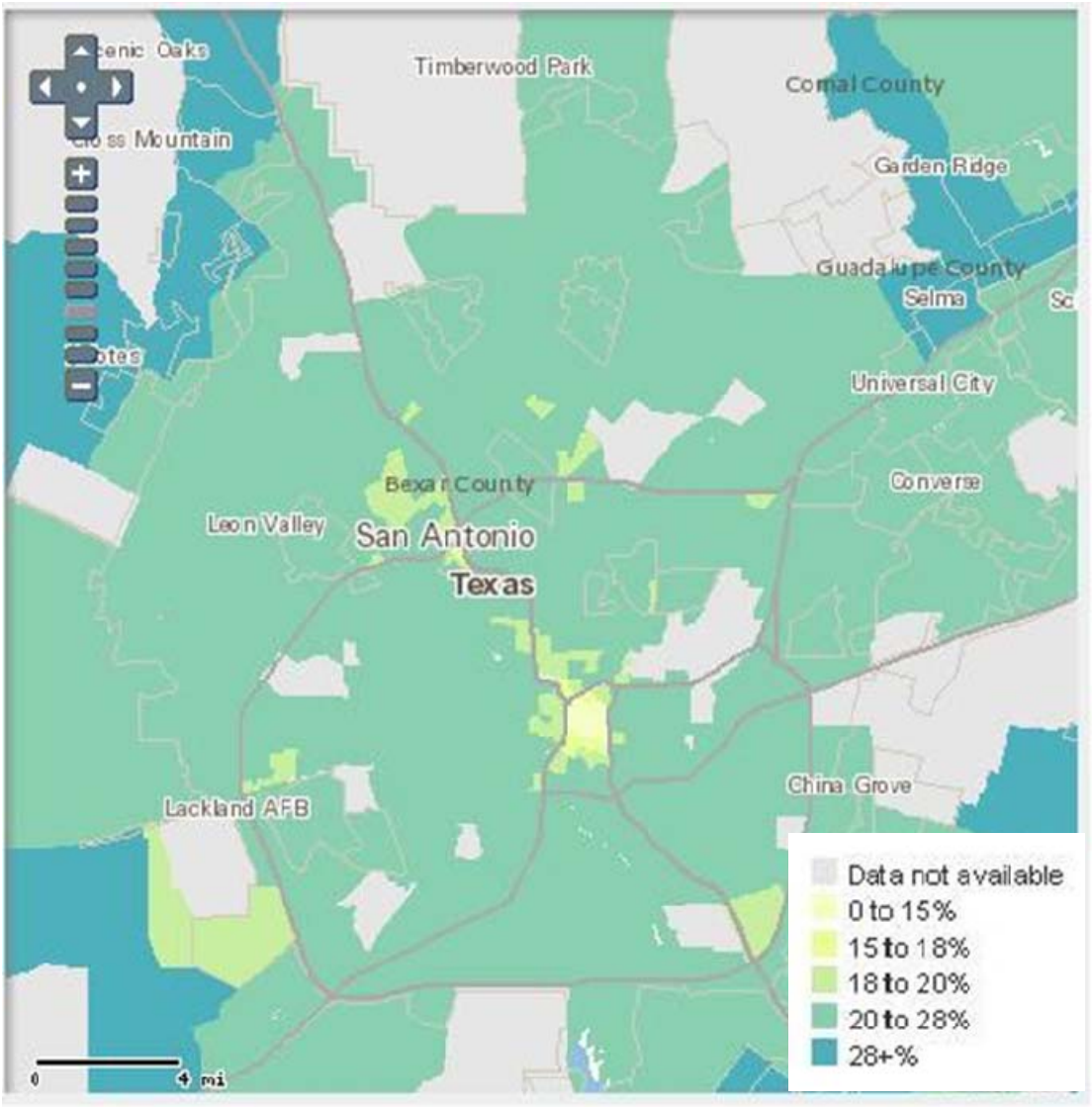

Figure 3-3 San Antonio Household Transportation Costs as a Percent of Income
Source: H + T Affordability Index, Center for Neighborhood Technology 2009

3-1. IDENTIFYING THE MOST DISADVANTAGED POPULATION

Figure 3-4 illustrates the location of economically stressed areas of the city.[27] The most economically stressed areas of the city are located in the inner city, to the east and west of the central business district. The economically stressed areas are also among the most densely populated of the city (Figure 3-5). In contrast, the northern portion of the city – where suburbanization is rapidly taking place – consists of mostly low-medium density housing and development. The areas that are both economically stressed and densely populated are also populated by large numbers of minorities (Figure 3-6). In contrast, the northern portion of the city is predominantly non-minority and the least economically stressed.

While the area east of the CBD is comprised of a large African American population, the area to the west (City Council District 5) is home to a large Hispanic population (see Appendix 2).

[27] The federal definition of "economically stressed" is based on per capita income of 80 percent of less than the national average and/or unemployment rates one percent greater than the national average for the past two years.

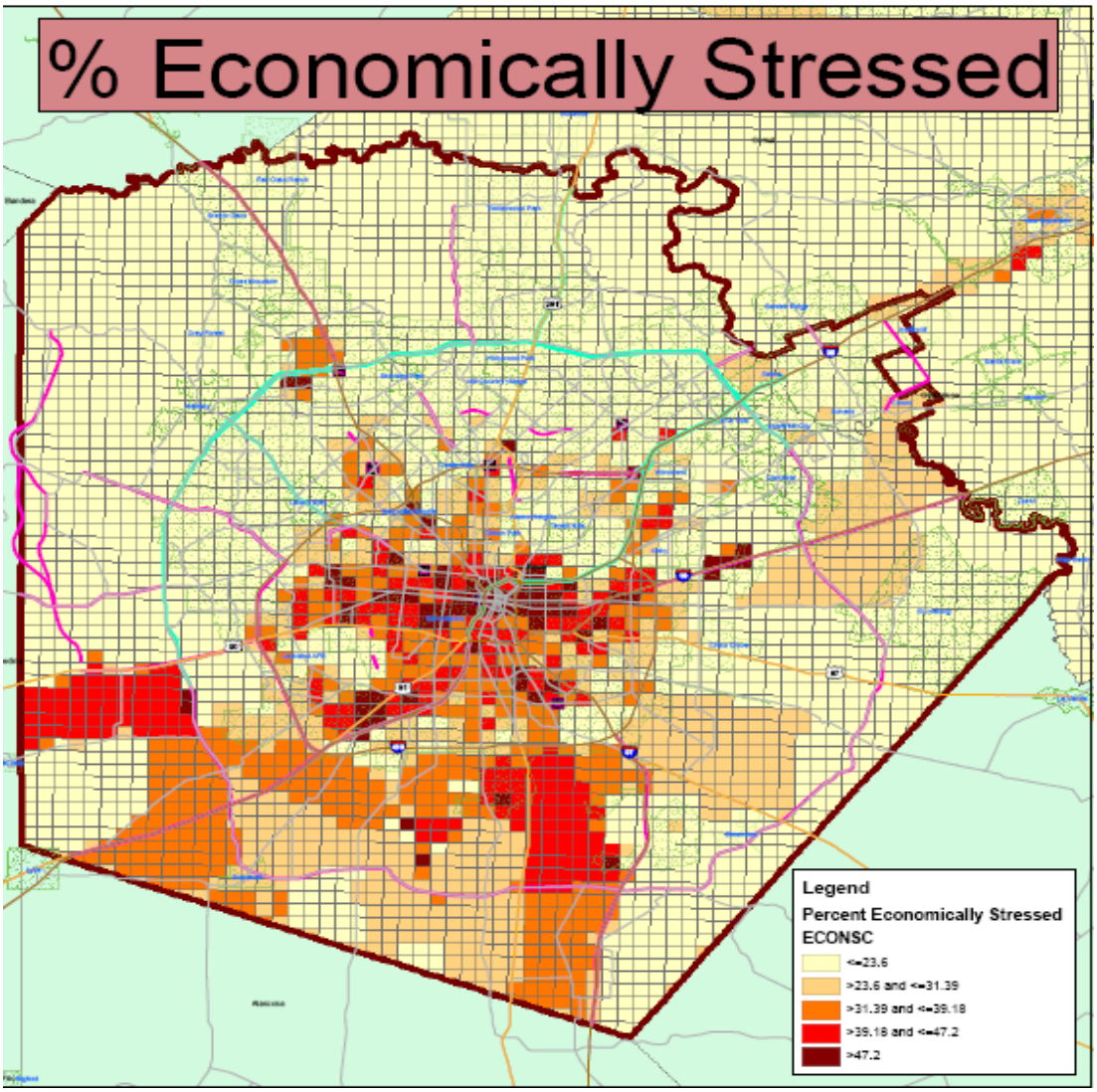

Figure 3-4. San Antonio Percent of Economically Stressed by Census Tract (Source: EPA Region 6 Office of Planning and Coordination)

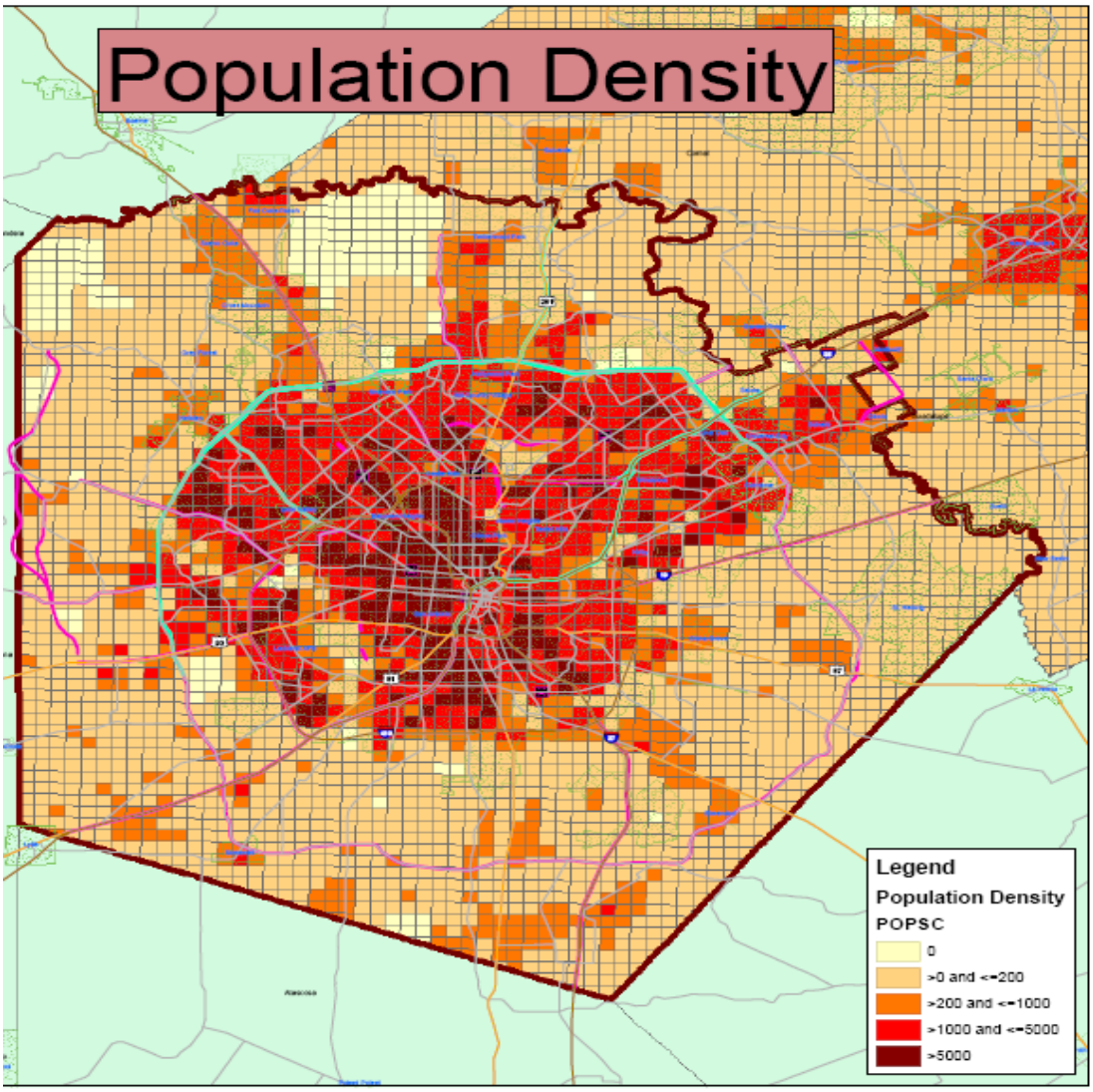

Figure 3-5. San Antonio Population Density by Census Tract
(Source: EPA Region 6 Office of Planning and Coordination)

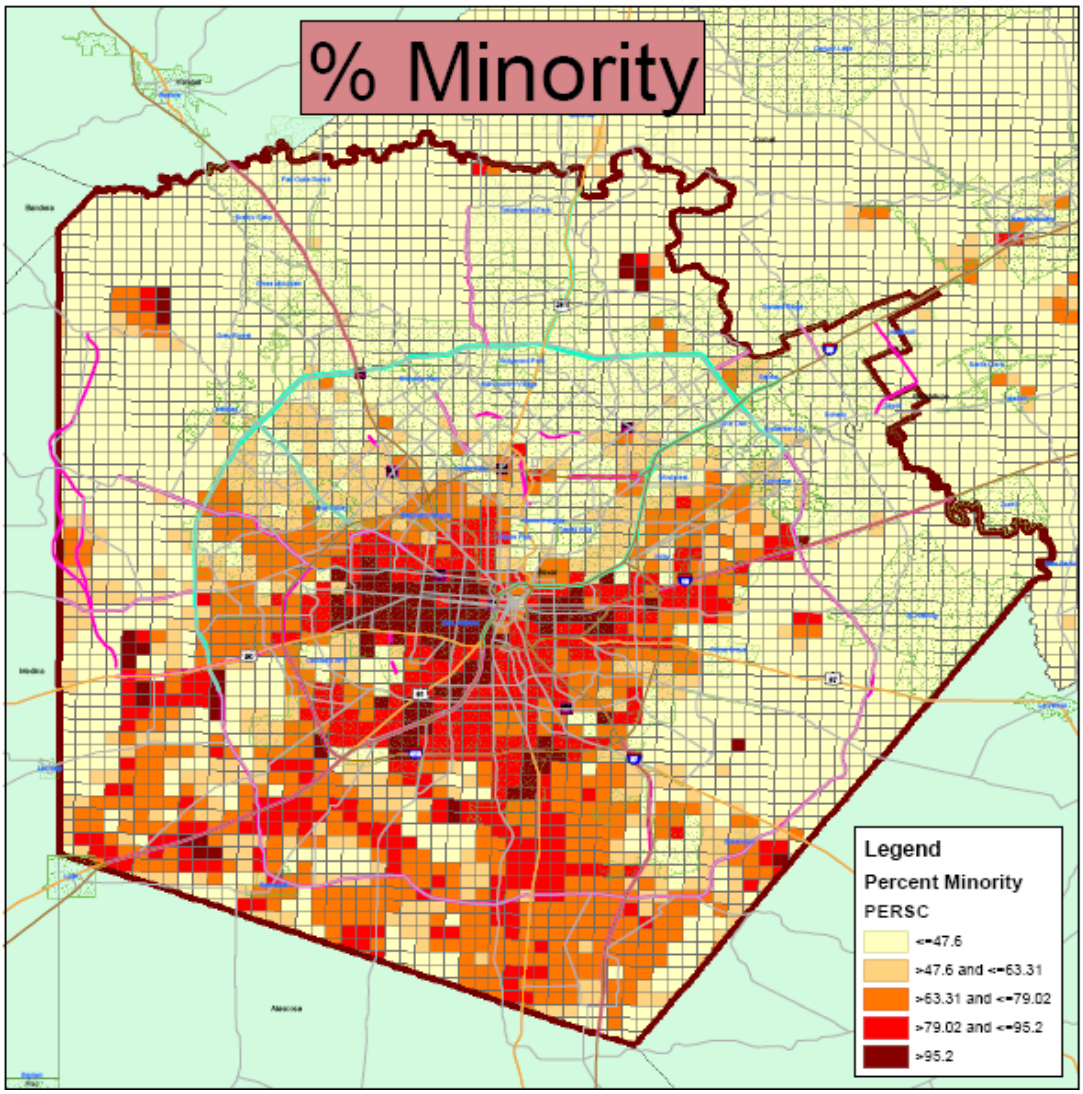

Figure 3-6. San Antonio Percent of Minority Population by Census Tract
(Source: EPA Region 6 Office of Planning and Coordination)

Figure 3-7 shows the percentages of the inner-city Hispanic population. In the most general terms, the west-southwest area of the city (District 5) is almost entirely populated by Hispanics. The economically stressed, densely populated District 5 is possibly the most disadvantaged area of the city. Aside from the figures represented above, 42% of the households in District 5 have incomes of less than $20,000 and nearly 30% of the residents are living below the poverty level (see Appendix 3).

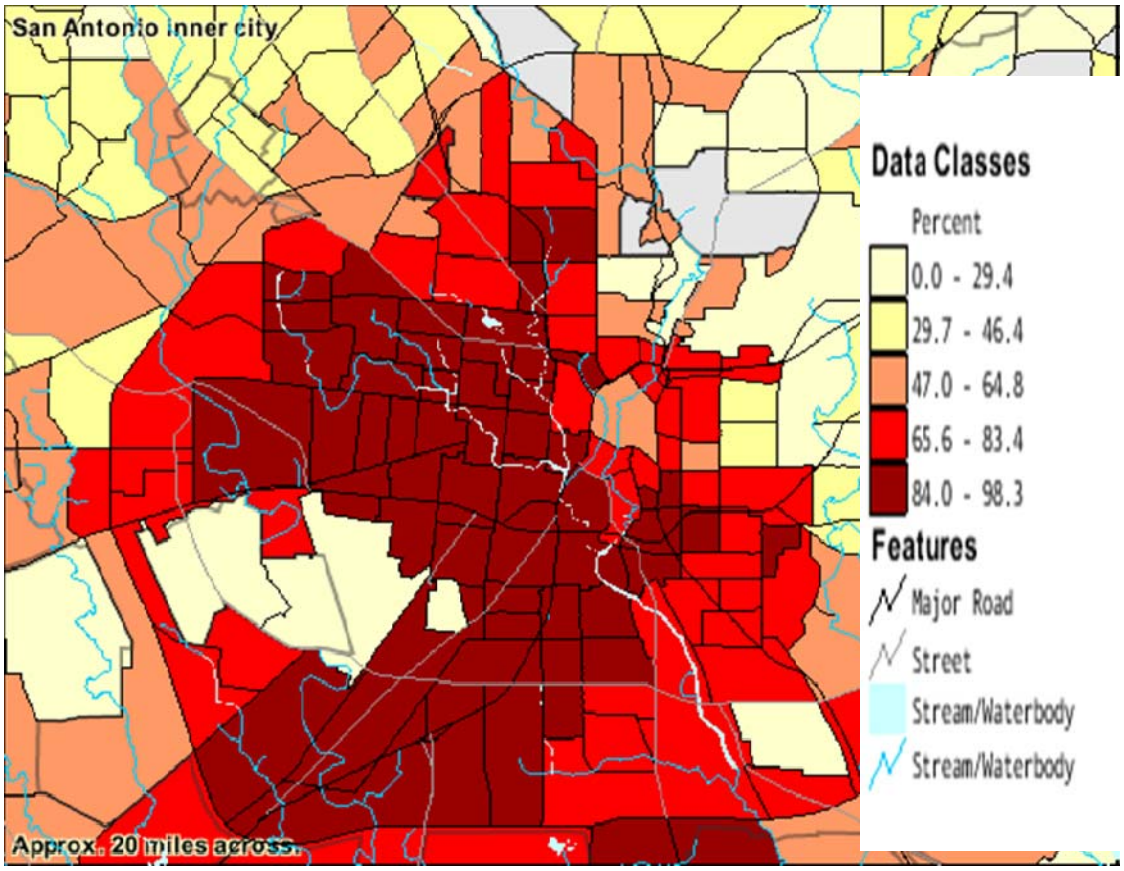

Figure 3-7. San Antonio Inner City Hispanic Population
(Source: United States Census Bureau)

Levels of vehicle ownership within District 5 are among the lowest in the city, but bus service is plentiful. Several bus routes operate to transport the carless residents from inner-city neighborhoods into the CBD. Figure 3-8 shows the fixed route service available as of October 2005. The number of transit routes located inside Loop 410 is obviously greater than those routes that operate outside the Loop. Approaching the outer loop (FM 1604), service is sparse.

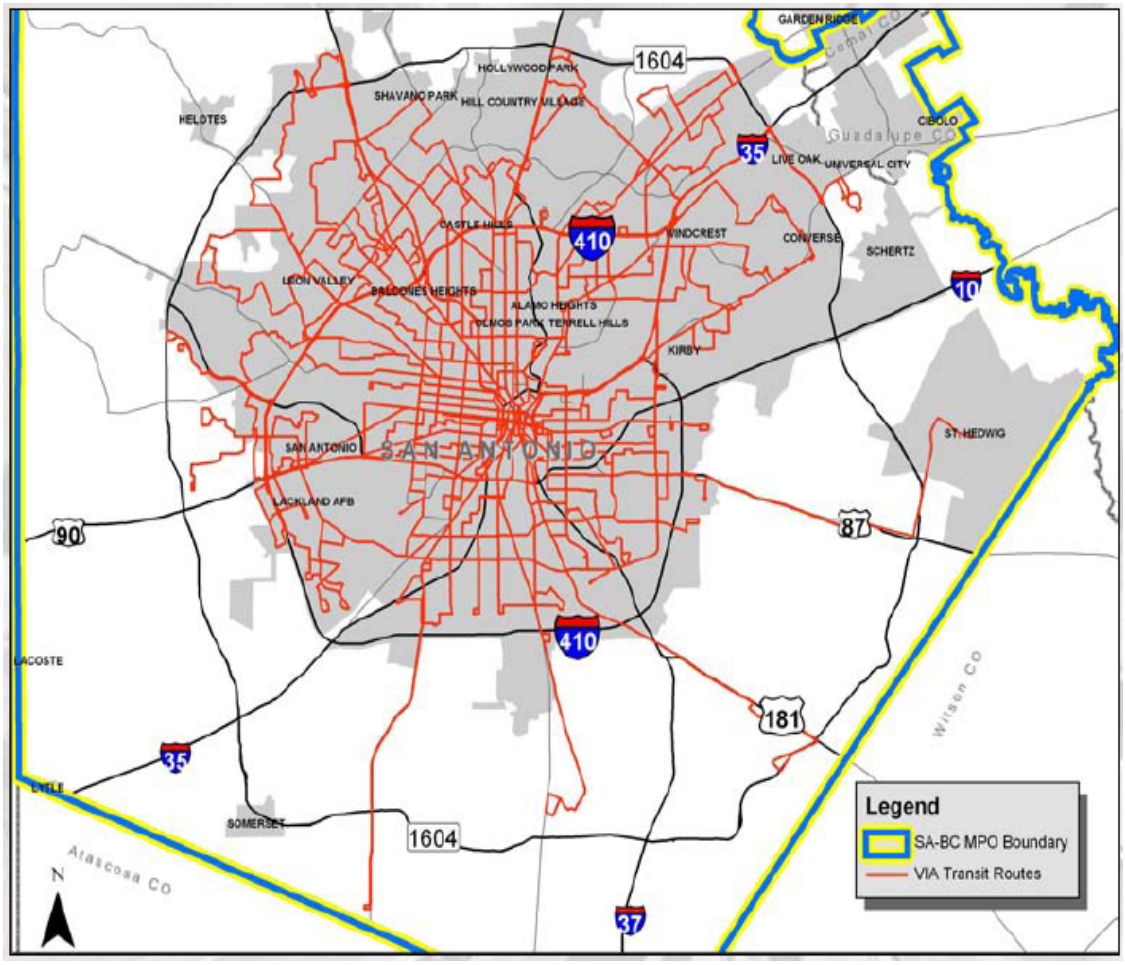

Figure 3-8. VIA Metropolitan Fixed Route Service
(Source: San Antonio MPO)

In contrast to District 5 is District 9, which is the wealthiest of San Antonio's 10 Council Districts (see Appendix 4). Whereas there are high levels of unemployment and poverty in District 5, District 9 boasts the city's highest educational attainment levels (more than 45% of people 25 and over have a Bachelor's or higher), the highest per capita income ($31,302), and the lowest poverty level (5.9%).[28] Unlike District 5, which is nearly 100% Hispanic in population, District 9 is comprised of 67% Anglo residents.

Though not subject to the jurisdiction of San Antonio, the District's area includes the incorporated cities of Alamo Heights, Hollywood Park, Castle Hills, Terrell Hills, Olmos Park, and Hill Country Village, the latter two which are among the top ten wealthiest cities in Texas.[29] Being the least economically stressed area of the city, it is not surprising to see the lack of bus service. The preference for personal automobiles is so strong within the area that two of the incorporated cities (Hollywood Park and Hill Country Village) vehemently oppose bus service and thus, do not contribute to public transit sales tax.

3-2. THE NEED FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN SAN ANTONIO

The priority for policy-makers and planners of public transit in San Antonio should be to ensure and champion a decent level of mobility for those transit-dependent

[28] United States Census Bureau. "San Antonio Fact Sheet"
[29] Texas Locations by Per Capita Income.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas_locations_by_per_capita_income

persons who were prevented either by extreme poverty or a combination of low income and physical disability from having full access to opportunities throughout the city. Transportation policies that focus on accessibility by automobile at the expense of alternative modes can leave a significant segment of the population at an even greater disadvantage. It is often the case that public transportation provides the only realistic transportation option for people who are unable to drive or who cannot afford to own and maintain a vehicle.

Goal 5 of the City of San Antonio's Master Plan states:

> *Develop policies for various transportation modes that will increase access to employment centers, community services, and cultural, recreational, educational and commercial facilities; and decrease the reliance on single occupancy vehicles.*

The City plans to achieve this goal by "promoting a transportation system that efficiently coordinates the distribution of people to major destinations" and by developing a transportation plan that includes alternative transportation modes that will allow residents access to regional destinations.[30] While city planners seem cognizant of the importance of providing access through a multi-modal transportation network, the Master Plan makes no mention of transportation equity and the accompanying economic and social issues thereof.

[30] City of San Antonio Master Plan, pp. 50-53

3-3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS

3-3-1. Access to Housing

Lower income households usually face a narrower choice of housing, which means they often have to travel farther to get to work. While the percentage of income spent on housing is similar across income groups (25 to 30%), the portion of income spent on transportation tends to be much higher for low-income households.[31] In fact, in many areas, households with yearly incomes under $40,000 spend more annually on transportation than they do on housing. Rising fuel prices are expected to make this disparity even greater. Concepts such as affordable housing and living wage need to take full account of the cost of transportation.

Due to the high levels of poverty, the San Antonio Housing Authority owns and operates ten public housing communities in District 5, six of which are for low-income elderly persons. The people of these communities are not only constrained by their transportation options, but they also have little choice in the way of affordable housing. In fact, the majority of SAHA's communities are located in the inner city, in the same areas that have been deemed economically stressed by the federal government (Figure 3-9).

[31] Center for Neighborhood Technology

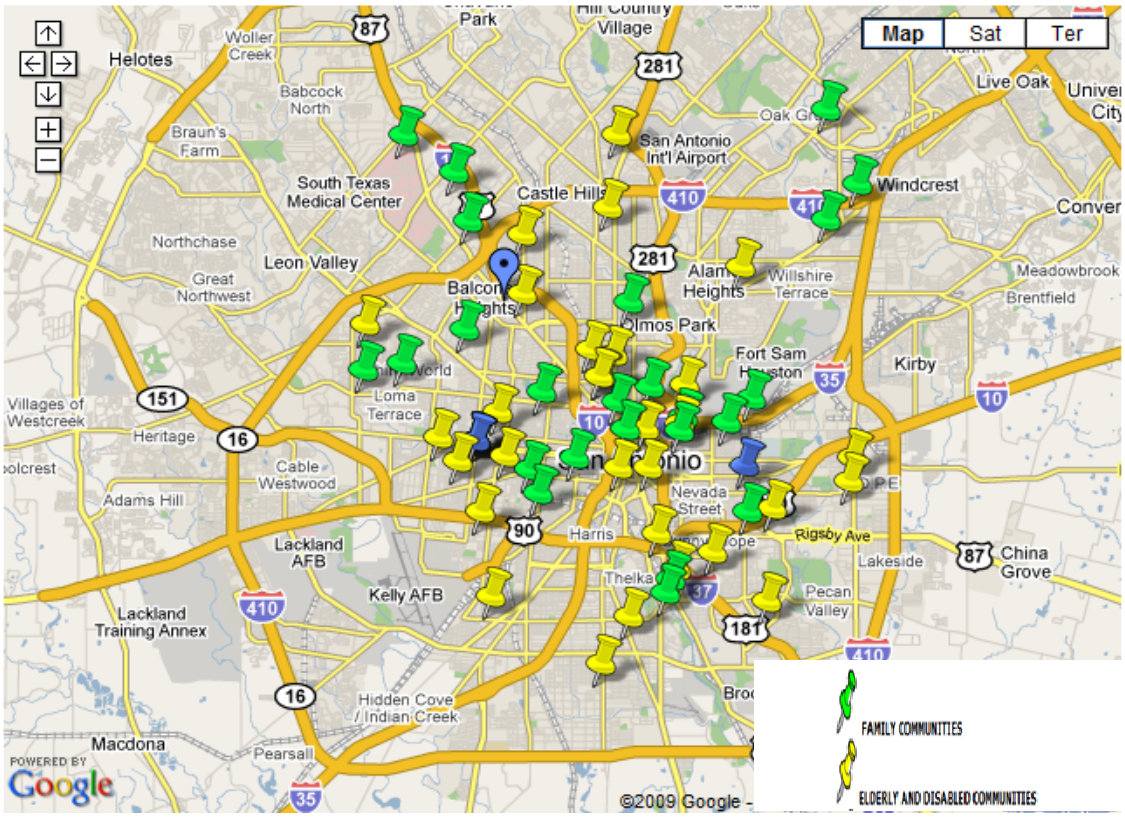

Figure 3-9. Location of San Antonio Housing Authority Low Income Communities (Source: San Antonio Housing Authority)

3-3-2. Employment and Spatial Mismatch

An analysis of suburbanization trends – such as those currently taking place in San Antonio – and increasing concentrations of urban poverty led economist John Kain to propose the "spatial mismatch" theory. Kain's theory is that the spatial disconnect between suburban concentrations of entry-level jobs and inner-city concentration of minorities leads to low-wages and high levels of unemployment in the inner city.[32]

[32] Holzer, Harry J. "The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: What Has the Evidence Shown?" Urban Studies, Vol. 28, Number 1 (February 1991).

The mismatch causes difficulties, often in the form of longer commutes, for inner-city people who travel to the suburbs for work. Moreover, the spatial mismatch often results in lower wages and higher levels of unemployment for residentially segregated minorities than for suburban whites.

Figure 3-10 shows that job density is moderate for most of San Antonio. Density is high in the CBD where there is a cluster of employment opportunities. To the benefit of the transit-dependent, these opportunities are easily accessible by transit from inner-city neighborhoods. Because San Antonio's economy is heavily rooted in the tourism and hospitality industry, many of these easily-accessible jobs are low-wage service occupations in the hotel, restaurant, and retail industries. In 2006, the industry employed slightly more than 100,000 workers, which accounts for 1 out of every 8 workers in the city.[33]

[33] San Antonio Area Tourism Council. "The Economic Impact of San Antonio's Hospitality Industry." 2006. http://www.sanantoniotourism.com/TourismReport.pdf

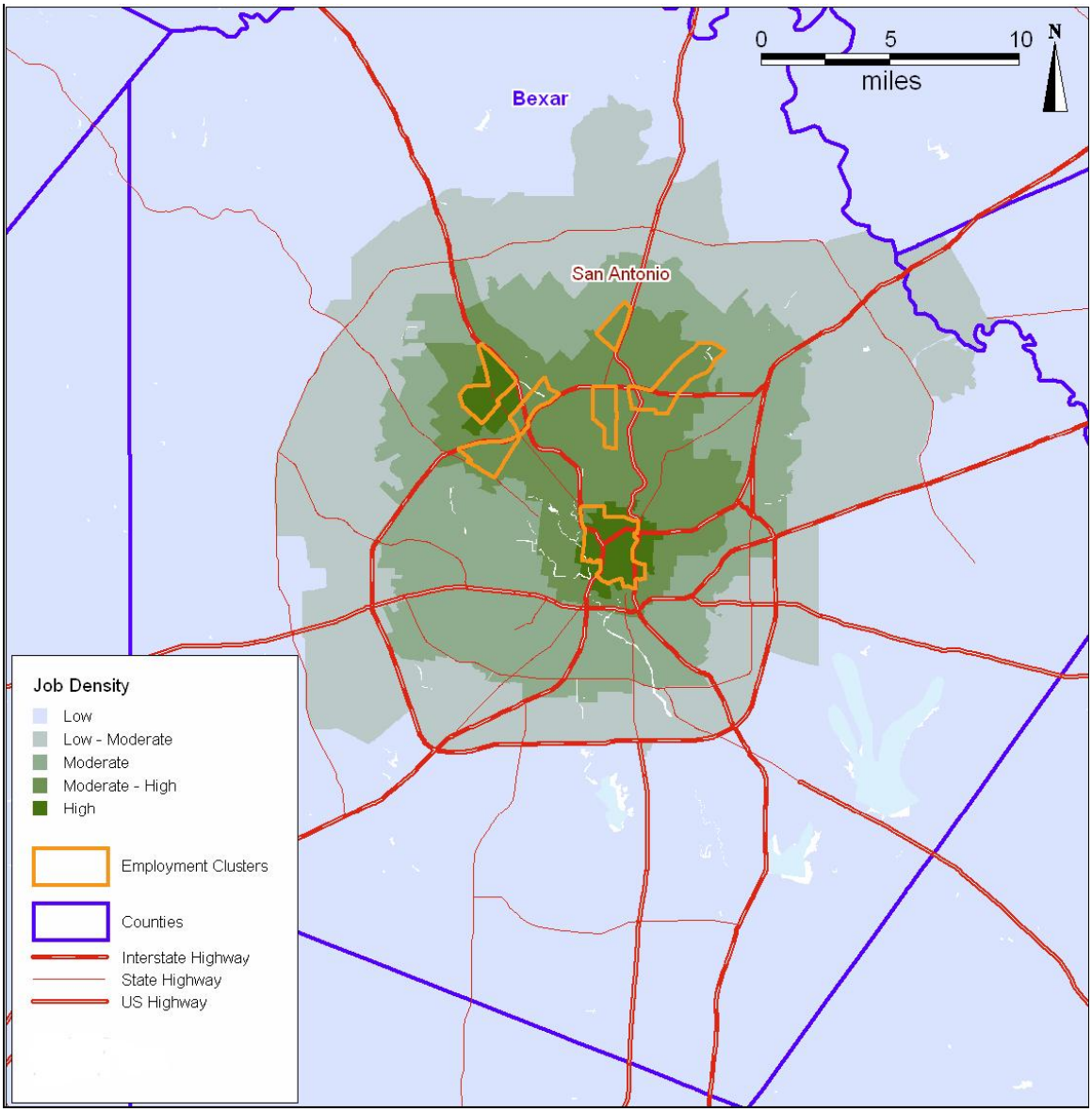

Figure 3-10. Job Density and Employment Clusters
(Source: Center for Neighborhood Technology)

Outside of the CBD, employment clusters are also located along the northern portion of the city where public transportation services are not as available. One cluster of jobs is located near the San Antonio International Airport, where there is high concentration of hospitality facilities and retail businesses. Another cluster that contains

high job density is located in the South Texas Medical Center, home to over 40 medical institutions and facilities. Providing reliable access to such a location is vital not only for employees, but also for people who must seek medical treatment. A project is currently underway to provide frequent bus rapid transit service, connecting the CBD to the South Texas Medical Center by 2012.[34]

Aside from the aforementioned clusters, major employers such as QVC Network, Valero Energy, and the United Services Automobile Association are located on the far north side of San Antonio. The growth of jobs in suburban locations that are difficult and often impossible to reach by bus has created a problem for disadvantaged households without access to reliable automobiles. transit-dependent. Although many new jobs are being created in the northern suburbs, most of the job opportunities for low-income workers are still located in the CBD.

3-3-3. Educational Opportunities

As with employment opportunities, accessing educational opportunities are dependent on a person's transportation and time. San Antonio is home to five 4-year universities (e.g. UT San Antonio, St. Mary's University, University of the Incarnate Word, Our Lady of the Lake, and Trinity University) The universities are evenly

[34] VIA Metropolitan Transit Authority. "Destination 2012." 2008. http://www.viainfo.net/Documents/BRT/BRTflyer.pdf

dispersed throughout the city, however the most affordable of the five (UTSA) is also the furthest from the city center.

Of the approximate ninety bus lines that serve the city, only one provides service for inner city commuters, via the CBD, to UTSA's main campus. This results in costly (time and monetary wise) commutes for the predominantly non-white, inner city students who are transit-dependent (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1. Cost of Access to UTSA by Class and Minority Status, 2004

	Anglo	*Non-Anglo*	*Lower*	*Middle*	*Upper*
Distance to UTSA (miles)	9.6	16.2	16.7	15.5	10
Total daily commute (miles)	19.2	32.4	33.4	31.0	20
Annual commute (miles)	3,072	5,184	5,344	4,960	3,200
Annual fuel costs (dollars)	280	472	486	451	291
Annual cost per mile (cents)	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1
Commute time (round trip, minutes)	18	52	48	44	20
Annual commute time (round trip, hours)	48	138.6 ($714)	128 ($659)	117.2	53.2

(Source: Briscoe and De Oliver, 2006)

In 1994, the University of Texas System established a "downtown" campus for UTSA, in effort to service the socioeconomically underprivileged student population who were burdened by the lengthy commute to the main campus on the far northwest side of San Antonio. However, there are great discrepancies in the funding of the campus and disparities in the educational offerings.

The level of resources available to students at the downtown campus is but a fraction of what is available at the main campus. Moreover, only three full-degree programs can be completed at the downtown campus, as opposed to fifty-two at the main

campus (Table 2). Thus, the majority of students who attend class at the downtown campus often have little choice but to make a lengthy bus commute to the main campus in order to fulfill degree requirements.

Table 3-2. UTSA Main Campus Versus Downtown Campus, 2004

	Main Campus	*Downtown*
Number of students[a]	23,822	5,968
Non-Anglo students (%)	57.3	66.6
Intracampus commuters (%)	15.2	60.6
Average % budget disbursement (1999 to 2004)	95.8	4.2
Whole degree programs offered	49	3

Source: Briscoe and De Oliver
a. Both numbers include intra-campus commuters.

3-4. VIA METROPOLITAN TRANSIT

VIA Metropolitan Transit is the sole public transportation provider in San Antonio. Fifty-six percent of the riders who use VIA are from households without a vehicle. In addition, 45% of the riders live in households with an annual income of less than $10,000.[35] Among the goals that were established in the public transit provider's 2003 Ten Year Plan for Service and Facilities are:

- Providing the community with more transportation choices

[35] VIA Metropolitan Transit "Facts and Figures".

- Serving transit-dependent people
- Building much needed passenger facilities

Although VIA officials are cognizant of their ridership – and the numbers point to an obvious need for public transportation – the agency is fiscally constrained when it comes to the level of service that it can provide to the community.

The Texas Transportation Code permits cities to levy a full cent sales tax to fund public transportation, yet VIA's primary source of revenue has long been a one half cent sales tax. Four times a year, VIA makes service revisions in order to meet ridership changes and ensure cost-effectiveness.[36] Over the years, the transit agency has been forced to cut back on bus routes and rider amenities. Currently, less than 15% of bus stops contain a shelter or covered waiting area.[37]

However, in 2004 an Advanced Transportation District sales tax referendum was passed by voters. The tax is projected to add $340 million for transit investment over the next decade.[38] Half of the funds will be used to expand bus service to new areas, improve passenger facilities, and implement bus rapid transit. In addition, one-fourth of the funds will be used to improve sidewalks, make ADA improvements, and enhance connectivity between neighborhoods. This is a step in the right direction to meet a few of the needs of the transit-dependent.

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[36] VIA Metropolitan Transit. "VIA Facts and Figures".
[37] San Antonio Metropolitan Planning Organization. "Mobility 2030 Report". October 2005, p. 6-10.
[38] San Antonio Mobility Coalition. "2009 Annual Report and Multi-Modal Transportation Funding Update". December 2008. http://samcoin.org/SAMCO-2009.pdf

Beyond income, age and health conditions also have a profound effect on the city's need for public transportation. Census 2000 data shows that 18% of the population has at least one form of disability. Many of these people account for the 3,500 daily trips provided by VIA's Paratransit system. In addition, VIA surveys show that nearly ¼ of riders is ages 65 and older.[39]

While there is a large transit-dependent population in San Antonio, major gaps exist within VIA's fixed route coverage. Although some of these gaps are not part of the service area because they belong to military facilities or are incorporated cities that do not want public transportation, other areas are simply not conducive to efficient bus service because of low ridership and/or land-use characteristics.

The development patterns prevalent in growing areas pose a challenge for efficient operation, which in turn results in lower accessibility. Two difficult challenges for VIA to overcome are low-density suburban areas with poor street connectivity and commercial development along one-way frontage roads adjacent to major highways. Auto-oriented land uses like these make it difficult for VIA to provide bus service to such locations.

Another short-coming of VIA is simply the hours of operation. While the agency's website boasts that service is available seven days a week from 4 a.m. to 1 a.m., only seventy-five percent of its buses operate seven days a week. Moreover, only one route operates from 4 a.m. to 1 a.m. While all of the other routes begin service by 5 a.m.,

[39] VIA Metropolitan Transit, "Destination 2012"

some operate until 11p.m. while other cease service in the early evening.[40] The latter is primarily the case for routes that operate in the suburbs. This fact adds to the mobility constraints that transit-dependent people must deal with in making commutes.

3-5. How San Antonio Compares

As the 7th largest and one of the fastest growing cities in the United States, San Antonio is racing to cope with an ever-increasing demand on public transportation. In most recent news, city leaders have been entertaining the idea of a streetcar system as they look for ways to expand transit options.[41] Officials recently visited Portland, Oregon, a city that has used streetcars to provide its residents with more options while also revitalizing the city core. However, not only is Portland often cited as a model of urban planning, but the city is considerably more compact than San Antonio. Moreover, the population is significantly smaller.

To get a better understand of how far San Antonio is on (or off) target to meeting public transportation demands, I have gathered data from four cities of similar land size and population. Houston, Phoenix, San Diego, and Dallas, are the fourth, sixth, eighth, and ninth largest cities, respectively, according to 2007 US Census population estimates. Table 3-3 offers some general data to show how the cities compare.

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[40] VIA Metropolitan Transit. "Bus Service".

[41] Baugh, Josh. "S.A. could roll into future on streetcars." San Antonio Express-News August 2, 2009, A1.

Table 3-3. Comparison of cities' area, population, pci, and poverty levels

	Houston	Phoenix	San Antonio	San Diego	Dallas
area	636 sq mi	514 sq mi	512 sq mi	342 sq mi	385 sq mi
population (city)	2,144,491	1,512,986	1,296,682	1,256,951	1,208,318
per capita income	$20,101	$19,833	$17,487	$23,609	$22,183
persons below poverty level	19.20%	15.80%	17.30%	14.60%	17.80%

(Source: United States Census Bureau 2007 estimates)

As Figure 3-11 shows, driving alone is the dominant means of transportation to work by commuters, followed by car pooling and then public transit. In terms of public transportation, each of the four comparison cities has a transportation authority that operates public transit in the form of bus, Paratransit, and light rail. San Antonio is currently the largest US city that lacks light rail. VIA's operating budget of $165 million (FY 2008-2009) is also significantly smaller than the others.[42]

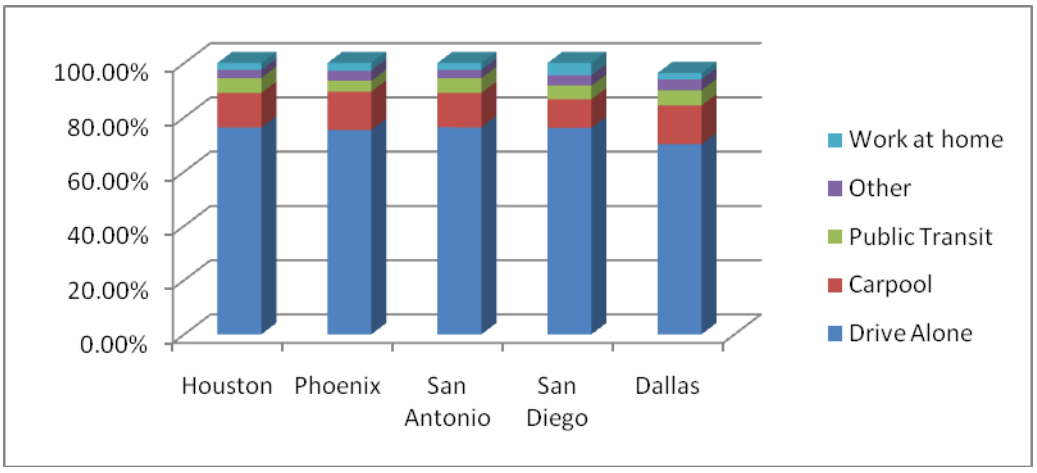

Figure 3-11. Means of Transportation to Work
(Source: United States Census Bureau 2007 estimates)

[42] VIA Metropolitan Transit, "Facts and Figures"

Of the comparison cities, Houston has the largest operating budget ($300 million) and the largest public transit operation. Created in 1978, METRO benefits from a full 1-cent sales tax (as allowed by Texas law) to support its operation. METRO provides service to the entire City of Houston (and surround counties), covering an area of 1,285 square miles. Transit service consists of 40 miles of bus rapid transit, 30 miles of commuter rail, and 122 fixed bus routes.[43]

Dallas Area Rapid Transit is also funded partially by the 1-cent sales tax. Created in 1983, the agency provides service to Dallas and 12 surrounding cities (a 700 square mile area). With a budget of $356 million, the agency consists of 130 fixed bus routes, 45 miles of light rail – which is due to be doubled by 2013 – and 84 miles of HOV lanes.[44]

In Arizona, Valley Metro was created in 1985 after legislation was enacted to levy a ½ cent sales tax to fund freeway construction and regional transit service.[45] The city members of Valley Metro (e.g. Phoenix, Tempe, Scottsdale) are required by state law to spend Local Transportation Assistance funds from the Arizona State Lotto on public transportation projects.[46] Valley Metro provides fixed route service (85 routes) and light rail/high-capacity transit (20 miles) over a 266 square mile area at an operating budget of $218 million.

San Diego's Metropolitan Transit (1976) serves the 570 square mile urbanized area of San Diego County and rural parts of East County. In addition to Transnet Funds

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[43] METRO. "A Comprehensive Look at the Metropolitan Transit Authority of Harris County, Houston, Texas." http://www.ridemetro.org/aboutus/deault.aspx
[44] Dallas Area Rapid Transit. "DART Agency Overview". http://www.dart.org/about/dartoverviewjul09.pdf
[45] Valley Metro. "History and Local Funding." http://www.valleymetro.org/valley_metro/overview/history_and_local_funding
[46] Ibid.

(local sales taxes), primary sources of funding for the agency are the California Transportation Development Act and the State Transit Assistance. In addition, the agency boasts the highest fare-box recovery ($80 million) among similar systems.[47] With an operating budget of $229 million, Metro Transit provides service to nearly 3 million residents through 82 fixed bus routes and 52 miles of light rail.[48]

Each of the four comparison cities has benefited from higher sales tax revenues and/or the diversification of funding. Though similar in area size and population, because VIA lacks funding options, it lacks the ability to offer mobility options. As long as mobility options remain few, accessibility will remain an issue.

[47] San Diego Metropolitan Transit System. "General Information." http://www.sdmts.com/MTS/About-MTS.asp
[48] Ibid.

Chapter 4: Current Measures to Combat Inequalities

Both the City of San Antonio and the San Antonio Metropolitan Planning Organization have developed comprehensive plans that outline how transportation investments, land use planning, and other federal supports for housing and economic development will be used in the creation of vibrant, successful communities. While the City's Master Plan makes no mention of dealing with equity issues, the MPO is taking steps to ensure investments in the transportation system provide a full range of affordable options for people with low-income, elders, and persons with disabilities as required by Title IV and SAFETE-LU.

As the agency responsible for coordinating the regional transportation planning process, the San Antonio MPO must ensure sure that all segments of the population have been involved in the transportation planning process. The impact of proposed transportation investments on underserved and underrepresented population groups must be part of the evaluation process to ensure that the costs and benefits are equally distributed. The MPO encourages the cost effective expansion of the regional transportation system to meet the growing mobility needs while increasing accessibility for the traditional under- served segments of the community.

It is vital for policy makers to diversify the planning process by including representatives from community-based organizations, grassroots groups, environmental groups, civil rights advocates and environmental justice to combat inequities in transportation and to ensure that all citizens are allowed to participate fully in society. Transportation planning must ensure that services and benefits are fairly distributed to all people, and that they have access to meaningful participation.

Policy makers should also learn from the public by reaching out to low-income communities to learn their unique transportation needs. VIA conducts monthly meetings in which it invites the public to participate in order to coordinate transit services and expand outreach programs to encourage and support fixed-route ridership by people with low-income, children, elderly, and persons with disabilities.

Despite the fact that VIA's current revenue sources (the ½ cent sales tax along with farebox revenues) are incapable of meeting any public demand beyond what is currently being offered, the agency is more than aware of what the public wants (e.g. expanded transit services to the fringes, more transportation choices, increased scheduled services.) Undoubtedly, new sources of revenue will be needed to expand operations.

Chapter 5: Recommendations and Conclusion

Government's policy to support massive public investment in urban freeways instead of public transportation continues to exclude low-income persons from accessing opportunities in the suburbs, leaving them in the declining inner-city areas with few transportation choices.[49] The primary goal of transportation policy makers should be to offset the mobility depreciation of the poor.

In terms of transit, improvements are needed with transit route connections, hours of operation, reliability and access to essential destination, such as employment sites, schools, health services, and social service agencies. San Antonio transportation planning agencies should coordinate with local regional advocacy organizations that represent low-income, minority, disabled, and elderly communities in the preparation of policies and plans in effort to ensure that transportation and land use decisions are evaluated for effects on disadvantaged communities. In addition, VIA Metropolitan Transit should coordinate with advocacy organizations in the preparation of plans and service adjustments.

The San Antonio MPO's vision for regional equity should be:

- that the needs of low-income and minority residents will be assessed through regular outreach activities and technical analysis

[49] Krumholz.

- low-income and minority residents will share equitably with others in the access and mobility benefits of the transportation networks

The MPO should emphasize continued outreach to communities with high proportions of low-income and minority residents. In addition, concern for issues of environmental justice should be a part of the planning process in effort to avoid adverse impacts on minority and low-income communities. The MPO should be constantly working to ensure funding for transportation projects that address regional equity issues and needs.

Although the future of San Antonio is unknown, demographic forecasts show that continued growth can be expected in the region. The City must address its existing transportation options, including streets, highways, and bus service, while also investing in a region-wide transit system with multiple modes of transportation such as trolleys, bus rapid transit, light rail and commuter rail. A proper mix of planning, public involvement and innovative financing can lead to a successful and diverse transportation system for the city.

In the past 15 years, San Antonio voters have defeated two plans for light rail. In 2000, a $1.5 billion plan to build 54 miles of light rail was rejected. In the meantime, voters in Dallas, Houston, and Austin have approved rail plans. In 2008, Bexar County Judge Nelson Wolff and Mayor Phil Hardberger formed a committee to chart the city's transportation future. Their initial direction to the group was to "study public transit."[50]

[50] Driscoll, Patrick and John Tedesco. "Back on track?" San Antonio Express News. November 9, 2008, A1, A12.

Both men are advocates of creating a multi-modal public transit network and are behind a current campaign to bring light rail (and commuter rail) to the city.

Long range transportation planning must be accomplished in a continuing and coordinated manner to ensure that the ability to move people throughout the city is keeping pace with the growing demand for mobility. Transportation determines how we get to the places we live, work, and recreate. Unfortunately, the system in San Antonio is flawed due to imbalanced funding that favors cars over public transit. As a result, residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods are facing transit service cuts, fewer housing options, and reduced access to employment and educational opportunities. In a city with large segments of the population that are disadvantaged – be it by race, ethnicity, income level, age, or disability – goals and policies to combat equity issues should be at the forefront of planning.

Appendix

1. San Antonio Population by Race and Ethnicity (2006 estimates)

Population By Race

The population by race does not equal 100%, also this exceeds the total population of 1,296,682. This could be partially due to the fact that it is an estimate with a margin of error. Also certain individuals could be associating themselves with more than one race. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006)

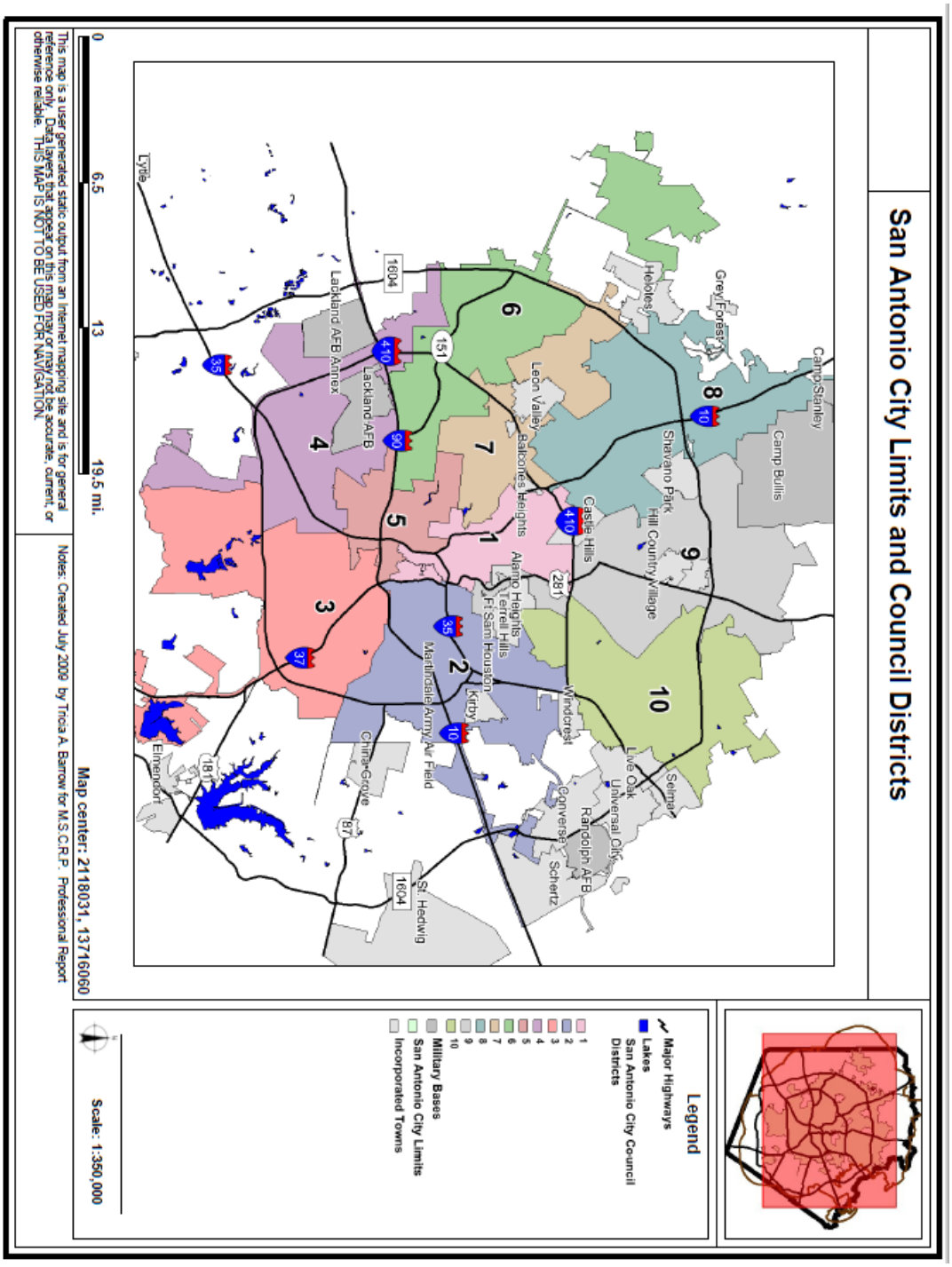
One Race	1,246,222	97.9%
White	840,511	66.00%
Black	85,221	6.7%
American Indian/Alaska Native	6,166	0.5%
Asian	26,356	2.1%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	1,234	0.1%
Some Other Race	286,734	22.5%
Two or More Races	27,152	2.1%
Hispanic/Latino	780,303	61.3%

Education

Total Percent of High School Graduates	75.1%
Total Percent of Bachelors Degrees	21.6%

Source: United States Census Bureau, 2006

2. MAP OF SAN ANTONIO WITH CITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS



3. POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON, DISTRICT 5

	Council District # 5	%	City of San Antonio	%	Source: 2000 Census table
Population					(SF1) P1 Total Population
Total	104,300	100%	1,216,700	100%	
Race					
Hispanic	98,640	94.6%	699,790	57.5%	(SF1) P4 Hispanic or Latino, and not Hispanic or Latino by race
Anglo	4,150	4.0%	401,710	33.0%	
African American	850	0.8%	79,450	6.5%	
Other Non-white	660	0.6%	35,750	2.9%	
Sex					(SF 1) P12. SEX BY AGE
Male	50,380	48.3%	589,430	48.4%	
Female	53,920	51.7%	627,270	51.6%	
Age					(SF 1) P12. SEX BY AGE
Under 5 years	9,260	8.9%	97,260	8.0%	
5 to 19	27,710	26.6%	286,060	23.5%	
20 to 24	8,040	7.7%	91,730	7.5%	
25 to 44	27,800	26.7%	373,140	30.7%	
45 to 64	18,220	17.5%	239,490	19.7%	
Ages 65 +	13,270	12.7%	129,020	10.6%	
Poverty					(SF 3) P87. POVERTY STATUS IN 1999 BY AGE
Persons for whom poverty is determined	102,020		1,191,550		
Above	71,870	70.4%	990,550	83.1%	
Below	30,150	29.6%	201,490	16.9%	
Education					(SF 3) P37. SEX BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR THE POPULATION 25 YEARS AND OVER
Persons 25 yrs of age and over	59,290		741,650	61.0%	
Less than 12th grade	32,210	54.3%	181,550	24.5%	
High School Diploma	15,710	26.5%	179,530	24.2%	
Some College	8,980	15.1%	216,650	29.2%	
Bachelor's Degree	1,620	2.7%	103,330	13.9%	
Graduate Plus	770	1.3%	60,590	8.2%	
Households					(SF 3) P14. HOUSEHOLD TYPE BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE
Total	30,740		430,760		
Population	102,300		1,190,510		
Average Size	3.33		2.76		
Household Income					(SF 3) P52. HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1999 (SF 3) P54. AGGREGATE HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1999 (DOLLARS)
Less than $20,000	12,910	42.0%	109,250	25.4%	
$20,000 to $39,999	9,990	32.5%	122,300	28.4%	
$40,000 to $59,000	4,720	15.4%	84,830	19.7%	
$60,000 to $99,999	2,460	8.0%	74,660	17.3%	
$100,000 or More	660	2.1%	39,720	9.2%	
Per Capita	$9,149	29.8%	$17,938		
Housing Units					(SF 3) H30. UNITS IN STRUCTURE
Total	32,770		459,860		
Single Family	26,280	80.2%	297,230	64.6%	
Multifamily	6,120	18.7%	149,590	32.5%	
Manufactured	370	1.1%	12,510	2.7%	
Other	0	0.0%	530	0.1%	
Occupancy and Tenure					(SF 3) H6. OCCUPANCY STATUS (SF 3) H7. TENURE
Occupied Housing	30,760		430,770	93.7%	
Owner Occupied	19,270	58.8%	255,110	55.5%	
Renter Occupied	11,490	35.1%	175,660	38.2%	
Vacant	2,010	6.1%	29,090	6.3%	
House Value and Rent					(SF 3) H86. AGGREGATE VALUE (DOLLARS) (SF 3) H64. AGGREGATE GROSS RENT
Average Value (Owner Occupied)	$39,831		$90,392		
Average Gross Rent (Cash Rent)	$393		$583		
Geography					
Square Mileage	19		504		
Acreage	12,000		322,300		

(Source: City of San Antonio, 2009)

4. POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON, DISTRICT 9

	Council District # 9	%	City of San Antonio	%	Source: 2000 Census table
Population					(SF1) P1 Total Population
Total	127,370	100%	1,216,700	100%	
Race					(SF1) P4 Hispanic or Latino, and not Hispanic or Latino by race
Hispanic	32,460	25.5%	699,790	57.5%	
Anglo	85,900	67.4%	401,710	33.0%	
African American	4,220	3.3%	79,450	6.5%	
Other Non-white	4,790	3.8%	35,750	2.9%	
Sex					(SF 1) P12. SEX BY AGE
Male	60,830	47.8%	589,430	48.4%	
Female	66,540	52.2%	627,270	51.6%	
Age					(SF 1) P12. SEX BY AGE
Under 5 years	8,930	7.0%	97,260	8.0%	
5 to 19	25,890	20.3%	286,060	23.5%	
20 to 24	7,450	5.8%	91,730	7.5%	
25 to 44	42,030	33.0%	373,140	30.7%	
45 to 64	29,320	23.0%	239,490	19.7%	
Ages 65 +	13,840	10.9%	129,020	10.6%	
Poverty					(SF 3) P87. POVERTY STATUS IN 1999 BY AGE
Persons for whom poverty is determined	125,420		1,191,550		
Above	118,060	94.1%	990,550	83.1%	
Below	7,360	5.9%	201,490	16.9%	
Education					(SF 3) P37. SEX BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR THE POPULATION 25 YEARS AND OVER
Persons 25 yrs of age and over	85,100		741,650	61.0%	
Less than 12th grade	5,020	5.9%	181,550	24.5%	
High School Diploma	12,870	15.1%	179,530	24.2%	
Some College	27,860	32.7%	216,650	29.2%	
Bachelor's Degree	23,910	28.1%	103,330	13.9%	
Graduate Plus	15,440	18.1%	60,590	8.2%	
Households					(SF 3) P14. HOUSEHOLD TYPE BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE
Total	52,160		430,760		
Population	125,420		1,190,510		
Average Size	2.40		2.76		
Household Income					(SF 3) P52. HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1999 (SF 3) P54. AGGREGATE HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1999 (DOLLARS)
Less than $20,000	6,420	12.3%	109,250	25.4%	
$20,000 to $39,999	10,680	20.5%	122,300	28.4%	
$40,000 to $59,000	10,240	19.6%	84,830	19.7%	
$60,000 to $99,999	13,450	25.8%	74,660	17.3%	
$100,000 or More	11,370	21.8%	39,720	9.2%	
Per Capita	$31,302		$17,938		
Housing Units					(SF 3) H30. UNITS IN STRUCTURE
Total	55,620		459,860		
Single Family	33,190	59.7%	297,230	64.6%	
Multifamily	22,040	39.6%	149,590	32.5%	
Manufactured	380	0.7%	12,510	2.7%	
Other	10	0.0%	530	0.1%	
Occupancy and Tenure					(SF 3) H6. OCCUPANCY STATUS (SF 3) H7. TENURE
Occupied Housing	52,140		430,770	93.7%	
Owner Occupied	32,140	57.8%	255,110	55.5%	
Renter Occupied	20,000	36.0%	175,660	38.2%	
Vacant	3,480	6.3%	29,090	6.3%	
House Value and Rent					(SF 3) H86. AGGREGATE VALUE (DOLLARS) (SF 3) H64. AGGREGATE GROSS RENT
Average Value (Owner Occupied)	$159,077		$90,392		
Average Gross Rent (Cash Rent)	$732		$583		
Geography					
Square Mileage	55		504		
Acreage	35,450		322,300		

(Source: City of San Antonio)

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